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HISTORY OF THE ST. ALBANS RAID.

ANNUAL ADDRESS

BEFORE THE

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

DELIVERED AT MONTPELIER, VT.,

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HISTORY OF THE ST. ALBANS RAID.

ANNUAL ADDRESS

BEFORE THE

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

DELIVERED AT MONTPELIER, VT.,

ON TUESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 17, 1876.

By Hon. EDWARD A. SOWLES.

ST. ALBANS:
Messenger Printing Works.
1876.

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Resolution and Correspondence.

The following Joint Resolution was adopted by the Senate and House of Representatives, at their biennial session, 1876:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, That the Secretary of the Senate be and is hereby directed to procure the printing in pamphlet form of fifteen hundred copies of the address delivered before the Vermont Historical Society on the 17th instant, by the Hon. Edward A. Sowles. That there be furnished to each member of the Senate and House of Representatives two copies; to each Town Clerk, one copy; to each college, normal school and academy in this state, one copy; to the Governor, each of the heads of departments, and each Judge of the Supreme Court, one copy; to the State Library, two hundred copies; to the Vermont Historical Society, two hundred and fifty copies, and that the remaining copies shall be divided between the public libraries in the State not otherwise supplied, under the direction of the State Librarian.

The following letter was addressed to Hon. Edward A. Sowles:

Office of the Secretary of the Senate,
Montpelier, Vt., October 23, 1876.

Dear Sir: By a joint resolution adopted by the Senate and House of Representatives, I am directed to procure the printing of fifteen hundred copies of the address delivered by you before the Vermont Historical Society on the 17th instant, at Montpelier, on "The St. Albans Raid."

I would respectfully request you to furnish me with a copy of the above mentioned address for publication as soon as convenient.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

F. W. BALDWIN, *Secretary of the Senate.*

To which the following reply was received:

Senate Chamber, Montpelier, Vt., Oct., 25, 1876.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 23d inst., informing me officially that a joint resolution adopted by the Senate and House of Representatives directed you to procure the printing of fifteen hundred copies of my address delivered before the Vermont Historical Society in the Representatives' Hall, at Montpelier, on the 17th inst., on "The St. Albans Raid," is received.

The address was prepared hastily, without any expectation that I should be called on by the Legislature to furnish a copy for publication. My private engagements and official duties have been such as to prevent a revision of the same. This, alone, might be ground for hesitancy in complying with the flattering request. I have concluded, however, to furnish it, trusting that the printer will correct and the public overlook all imperfections that may appear in so hastily written a production.

Yours Very Respectfully,

EDWARD A. SOWLES.

PROCEEDINGS OF

THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, 1876.

The annual meeting of the Vermont Historical Society was called to order in room No. 12, in the State House, at Montpelier, on Tuesday, October 17th, 1876, at 2 p. m.

The records of the last meeting were read and approved.

On motion, the following gentlemen were appointed a committee to nominate officers for the coming year: Samuel Wells, Dr. P. D. Bradford and Charles Dewey.

The Librarian's report was read by Mr. M. D. Gilman, the librarian, showing that the number of additions to the collections of the Society for the last two years is 4,784, for which acknowledgement has been made to each donor.

The Treasurer's report was read by Col. H. D. Hopkins, and ordered recorded.

E. B. Campbell, of Brattleboro, and J. G. Darling, of Boston, were elected honorary members.

The committee on nominations reported a list of officers for the ensuing year. Rev. Dr. Lord declined a re-election as president, and the report was on motion recommitted. Charles W. Porter and John W. Page were elected members of the Society. The following nominations were reported and the gentlemen named elected officers of the Society:

President—Hon. E. P. Walton, of Montpelier.

Vice-Presidents—Hon. James Barrett, of Woodstock, Luther L. Dutcher, of St. Albans, and Rev. Wm. S. Hazen, of Northfield.

Recording-Secretary—Chas. W. Porter, of Montpelier.

Corresponding-Secretaries—Hon. G. G. Benedict, of Burlington, O. S. Bliss, of Georgia.

Treasurer—John W. Page, of Montpelier.

Librarian—Marcus D. Gilman, of Montpelier.

Curators—Hon. R. S. Taft, of Burlington; H. A. Cutting, M. D., of Lunenburgh; Hon. Gilbert A. Davis, of Reading; Rev. W. H. Lord, D. D., of Montpelier, and H. A. Huse, Esq., of Montpelier.

Printing and Publishing Committee—Ex. Gov. Hiland Hall, of Bennington; Hon. E. P. Walton, of Montpelier, Rev. W. H. Lord, of Montpelier.

President Walton, on taking the chair, read the following letter from T. W. Wood:

MONTPELIER, Vt., Oct. 17, 1876.

HON. E. P. WALTON:

My Dear Sir—Will you do me the favor to present to the Vermont Historical Society the portrait of Rev. Wm. H. Lord, D. D., which I have painted for the Society, with the hope that it may be the commencement of a collection of portraits of men who make the history of our State? Very Truly Yours,

T. W. WOOD.

Hon. Joseph Poland offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:

Resolved, That the hearty thanks of this Society be, and hereby are, tendered to the Artist, Thomas W. Wood, Esq., of Montpelier, for the presentation of the accurate and finely executed portrait of its retiring president, the Rev. Dr. William H. Lord.

Resolved further, That the Secretary and Librarian be requested to arrange with the proper officers for a suitable place in the State-House for its preservation and exhibition.

Resolved, That the Secretary and Librarian of this Society be, and are hereby directed, to receive such portraits of eminent and worthy citizens of the State as may be presented for preservation, and cause the same to be properly placed in the capitol.

Resolved, That a committee of five, to be appointed by the President, be raised to co-operate in behalf of this Society in such celebrations as may be had on Vermont centennial days in 1877, at Westminster, Windsor, Hubbardton and Bennington.

Hon. G. A. Davis offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Treasurer of the Society be required to give a good and sufficient bond, for such sum as the Finance Committee shall deem necessary for the safety of the funds of the Society.

Dr. P. D. Bradford offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Recording-Secretary is requested to prepare complete lists of the resident, corresponding, and honorary members of the Society, for publication with the proceedings.

A revolutionary relic of great interest, a sword of the war of the revolution, was presented by Miss Hemenway.

The Society then adjourned to half-past seven o'clock p. m., then to meet in the hall of the House of Representatives, to be addressed by the Hon. Edward A. Sowles, of St. Albans, on the so-called "St. Albans Raid."

EVENING SESSION.

The Society met and was addressed by Hon. Edward A. Sowles, when it adjourned to October 24th, 3 o'clock, p. m.

OCTOBER 24, 1876.

The Society met pursuant to adjournment.

The President appointed the committee on Vermont Centennial days in 1877 as follows: Hon. Hiland Hall, of Bennington; Rev P. F. Barnard, of Westminster; Rev. Franklin Butler, of Windsor; Hon. Gilbert A. Davis, of Reading, and Cyrus Jennings, Esq., of Hubbardton.

The following named gentlemen were admitted to membership in the Society, to wit.: Hon. Oscar E. Butterfield, Wilmington; Rev. James H. Babbitt, of Waitsfield; George E. Eaton, Esq., of Danville, and Geo. W. Wing, A. W. Ferrin and Charles Guernsey, of Montpelier.

The Society adjourned without day.

ADDRESS.

THE ST. ALBANS RAID.—In July 1863, S. R. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy of the so called Confederate States of America, sent twenty-seven commissioned officers and forty petty officers to Canada, to organize an expedition against Johnson's Island in Sandusky Bay, in the State of Ohio, for the purpose of releasing several thousands of Confederate prisoners of war, there held by the United States Government. The facts as there ascertained were reported to the Confederate Congress in December 1863.

On the 20th of December, 1863, Hon. William H. Seward, then Secretary of State, sent a dispatch to Hon. Charles Francis Adams, American Minister at the Court of St. James, for Earl Russell, British Foreign Minister, referring to Mr. Mallory's report, in which he said: "In the opinion of this Government, a toleration in Great Britain, or in those provinces, of the practices avowed by the insurgents, after the knowledge of them now communicated to his lordship, would not be neutrality, but would be a permission to the enemies of the United States to make war against them from British shores."

On the 20th of May, 1864, the Hon. J. F. Howard, United States Consul at St. John, N. B., likewise communicated to Mr. Seward information that an unusually large number of disloyal citizens of the United States had quite recently passed that city *en route* for Canada *via* Fredricton and *Riviere du Loup*.

The greater part of these insurgents had been living for some months in Halifax—others had found their way north from Nassau and Bermuda. The rebel general Frost had also then recently proceeded to Canada from St. John, N. B.

On the 31st of May, 1864, Mr. Seward officially communicated the facts contained in Mr. Howard's letter to Lord Lyons, British Minister at Washington, and the latter transmitted the same to Viscount Monck, then Governor-General of Canada, as well as to the British Government.

On the 29th of July, 1864, Col. R. H. Hill, in command at Detroit, Michigan, communicated to General Dix, in command of the Department of the East, that certain leading men of the South had found their way through the Union lines into the neighboring provinces of Canada, and it was soon ascertained beyond question that Jacob Thompson, formerly Secretary of the Interior, C. C. Clay, Jr., and George W. Saunders, formerly members of the U. S. Congress, were the accredited agents of the Confederate States in Canada, stationed at Niagara and other important points.

The purposes of their mission became very apparent to Mr. Seward and Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War. Accordingly, Mr. Seward, on the 9th of August, 1864, again enclosed to Lord Lyons, copies of communications "in regard to reported hostile projects of insurgent citizens of the United States lurking in Canada, with a view to inquiry into the matter, and to the adoption of precautionary measures. "Lord Lyons, as it appears from the correspondence, placed the British Government in full possession of all the facts.

About the 20th of November, 1863, Governor Smith, then Governor of Vermont, doubtless alarmed at the demonstrations, asked the War Department at Washington for 5,000 rifled muskets, a large quantity of ammunition, horses for a battery, and authority to station troops at Swanton, St. Albans and Burlington. Col. Ludlow was sent to Vermont by Major General Dix, on the 25th of November, 1863, and on the 28th of November, General Dix telegraphed Mr. Stanton, as follows: "Colonel Ludlow telegraphs all is arranged well in Vermont." On the 30th of November, 1863, Mr.

Seward sent a dispatch to Lord Lyons, as follows: "In the present peaceful aspect of affairs we shall not make any such military demonstrations, or preparations on the Vermont line, as General Dix suggests. Nor shall I call on Her Majesty's Government for any special attention in that direction."

In October, 1864, as it appears from testimony taken by the writer to be used before the Mixed Commission on American and British claims, there were between 15,000 and 20,000 of these insurgents domiciled and lurking about in the Provinces of Canada. The Dorion–McDonald Government of Canada had been in favor of active steps to preserve strict neutrality towards the United States, and had sometime previously to the 20th of November, 1863, detected and prevented a conspiracy to commit a raid on Johnson's Island by the use of barges to be loaded with these insurgents, and to be towed by steamers through the Lachine Canal into Lake Erie, and thence into Sadusky Bay. But this strong array of Southerners, by means of their social qualities, and the free use of money, had succeeded in creating a sentiment in Canada, adverse to the Northern States, which, together with the hostility of the friends of the Cartier–McDonald Government, tended to the overthrow of the Dorion–McDonald Government after being in power only eighteen months, and the restoration of the Cartier–McDonald Government, with their consequent friendly relations to the Southern Confederacy.

The testimony taken to be used before the Mixed Commission, and such as was taken at the Military trial of the assassins of President Lincoln and the assailants of Secretary Seward, and the criminal trial of John H. Suratt; the expedition of Bennett G. Burley and acting Master John Y. Beall, afterwards hung by order of General Dix, in New-York harbor, for piracy; in the capture of the steamers "Philo Parsons" and "Island Queen;" in their efforts to reach Johnson's Island and to likewise capture or destroy the U. S. Steamer "Michigan," then guarding rebel prisoners on that island, on the 19th of September 1864; the St. Albans raid under Lieut. Bennett H. Young, on the 19th of October 1864; the effort of Dr. Blackburn to send clothing infected with yellow fever and

small pox from Canada into the United States, to depopulate the loyal people of the north, and the assassination of President Lincoln on the 14th of April, 1865, taken in connection with the letter of C. C. Clay Jr., to the Hon. J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of the Confederate States, bearing date Nov. 1st, 1864, and that of Jacob Thompson to the same person under date of Dec. 3d, 1864, and the fact that John Wilkes Booth was proven to have been in Canada in secret consultation with Thompson and Sanders before the St. Albans raid, and likewise a short time before the assassination of President Lincoln—all show conclusively to the mind of any reader, that there was a conspiracy plotted and organized in Canada to commit all those outrages by means of raids, murders and assassination, as a last resort to save that so-called "Southern Confederacy, as Alexander H. Stevens then said, "whose corner stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is *not* equal to the white man—that slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition."

This brings us to an intelligent understanding of the origin of the St. Albans raid, and now we may the better trace its progress, consummation and results as a part of a great conspiracy.

On that memorable 19th day of October, 1864, at about the same hour that Sheridan was pursuing the rebels in the Shenandoah Valley, and a company of St. Albans Boys, with other Vermont soldiers, were hotly engaged with the enemy at the battle of Cedar Creek, about three o'clock in the afternoon—parties of from three to five persons—numbering in all from twenty to fifty persons, then domiciled or commorant within Her Majesty's provinces of Canada, in the form and appearance of a military array, took forcible and armed possession of a part of the village of St. Albans, under Lieutenant Bennett H. Young as their leader, for the general intent and purpose of carrying on and committing acts of forcible depredations, rapine and war, from the provinces of Canada as a base of operations, and as a shelter for immediate retreat, against and upon the persons and property of unarmed and peaceable citizens of St. Albans. They were armed with large

navy revolvers, concealed under a loose coat, and had belts and traveling bags or haversacks thrown across their shoulders.

They first made a secret and simultaneous attack upon the three banks in the village, closed the outer doors and made prisoners of their inmates.

In the First National Bank, Albert Sowles, the cashier, was present. He testifies as follows: "One of these strangers approached the counter on the other side of which I was standing opposite him. As he came up to the counter, he suddenly drew from a 'a holster' with which he was equipped, a large navy revolver, and, cocking and pointing the same at me, said, 'if you offer any resistance I will shoot you dead, you are my prisoner.'

At this moment two other strangers similarly equipped, came into the bank, one of them remaining at, and guarding the door, while the other passed behind the counter where I was standing, and went to the iron safe of the bank, in my rear, which contained the funds of the bank, and commenced stuffing bank bills, bonds, treasury notes and other securities into his pockets. After he had filled his pockets, he commenced throwing bonds, bank bills and treasury notes and private papers across the counter to his confederates on the other side, who took them and filled their pockets in like manner. I was greatly intimidated and considered my life in danger. While these things were going on, one of the party said 'we represent the Confederate States of America and we come here to retaliate for acts committed against our people by General Sherman.' He said 'it will be of no use to offer any resistance, as there are a hundred soldiers belonging to our party in your village.' He said 'you have got a very nice village here, and if there is the least resistance to us, or any of our men are shot, we shall burn the village.' He said, these are our orders, and each man is sworn to carry them out.'"

These men took from this bank $58,000. The cashier was taken prisoner and placed under guard on the public park in front of the banking house. As they were marching him out of the bank, William H. Blaisdell, a clothier, and customer of the bank, coming up, caught hold of one of the guard and

threw him from the steps of the bank to the ground. Two of the party hastened back, one of them shouting, "shoot him, shoot him," giving this order to the man under Blaisdell. They then took Blaisdell with other citizens across the street to the public park, where there were a number of persons then under guard.

The names of the persons who made this attack upon this bank, as afterwards ascertained, were Joseph McGrooty, Alexander Pope Bruce and Caleb McDowell Wallace, the latter claiming to be a nephew of the late Senator Crittenden, a distinguished statesman from Kentucky.

General John Nason, brigadier-general of volunteers, a man nearly eighty years old, was in the bank during the whole affray and was engaged in reading a newspaper. He was deaf, and not hearing what had transpired, but seeing the brandishing of revolvers, he inquired of Sowles, "What gentlemen are those? It seems to me they are rather rude in their behavior."

At the St. Albans Bank, Cyrus N. Bishop, Assistant Cashier, and Martin A. Seymour, Clerk, were present. Mr. Bishop testified: "Two strangers stepped up to the counter in the bank together, and at once presented revolvers at me over the counter. I immediately ran into the directors' room and undertook to shut the door, but they seized hold of the door before I had closed it, and pressing hard against it, succeeded in pushing it open. They then seized hold of me with one hand and pointed large navy revolvers at me with the other, which revolvers were cocked, threatening to blow my brains out if I made any resistance or gave any alarm. At that moment three other strangers entered the bank, each with a revolver in his hand. Then they inquired where we kept our gold and silver. I said to them that we had not any gold, but we had a few hundred dollars in silver, which was in a small safe in that room. The safe being locked, they forced me to unlock it by threatening my life. One of them stood guard at the entrance of the bank and two more stood guard over Mr. Seymour, the clerk, and myself, while the other two proceeded to take the money out of the safes and from the table where I

was at work when they first entered the bank. As they took the money, they stuffed it into their pockets and haversacks, which were slung across their shoulders. I asked them 'what is your programme?' They said that they were Confederate soldiers from General Early's army in the Shenandoah Valley. They said that they had come here to rob us and burn our town, and they had it under their control at that moment. They then said they would administer the oath of the Confederate States to me. The leader of the gang then proceeded to administer some kind of an oath to me. He compelled me to raise up my right hand and called upon me to solemnly swear that I would not give alarm or fire upon the Confederate soldiers. That is about all I can remember of the oath in question. At the same time they threatened Mr. Seymour's life, and administered a similar oath to him. About this time Samuel Breck came to the outer door. One of the party took hold of him by the collar with one hand, presenting a revolver at him with the other. This person demanded Mr. Breck's money. Mr. Breck replied, 'It is private property,' when this man said, 'I don't care a d—n for that.' After taking his money, he was forced by the party into the directors' room, and there with Mr. Seymour and myself detained as prisoner."

Mr. Seymour's testimony was substantially like that of Mr. Bishop, only he says his captor said, "Not a word out of your head. We are here to retaliate for the doings of General Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley. There are seventy-five men of us in town. We have got possession of your town and are going to burn it." During this time the leader of the gang administered what he called the "'Confederate oath,' that we would do nothing to injure the interests of the Confederate Government; that we would not fire upon any of its soldiers now in town, and that we would not tell any one they had been there within two hours after they had left." They took from this bank $73,522. Mr. Bishop afterwards identified three of the gang in open court, who gave their names as Thomas Bronsdon Collins, Marcus Speer and Square Turner Travis.

At the Franklin County Bank, Marcus W. Beardsley, cashier, and one Jackson Clark, a wood sawyer, were present, and the treatment of these men was more brutal in its character, if possible, than either of the others. Mr. Beardsley testified: "Three or four strangers came into the bank at the same time, and took position near the window opening into the street. I supposed they were waiting for the man standing at the counter to complete his business. In a moment after, one of the men who had last entered the bank stepped a few paces towards the counter and drew from under his coat a large revolver and cocking it, pointed it directly at me without a word being said. While holding it pointed at me, the stranger who had first entered the bank spoke to me saying, 'We are Confederate soldiers, sir. There are one hundred of us in town. We have come to rob the banks and burn your town and we are going to do it.' This he spoke in a very determined sort of a way, and I was much alarmed.

At that time a man in my employ, being alarmed at the demonstrations that were being made, started for the door. He was immediately arrested by one of the men, who put a pistol to his head and said, 'I will blow your brains out if you stir another inch.' Clark was ordered to be put into the vault of the bank. The man in command then ordered me 'to bring first all of the greenbacks you have got, and then all the other moneys of your bank.' I opened the drawer and gave him all the greenbacks we had. During this time two other men, who had put Clark into the vault, were filling their pockets and haversacks, which they had thrown across their shoulders, with the bills of the bank, from an iron safe standing within the vault, the door of which was open.

All the men were soon thus engaged, excepting one, who stood at the door at the entrance of the bank. At this time one of the men brought out of the vault a small tin trunk, and said to me, 'What is this?' I told him it belonged to the Teller of the bank, who was absent. He asked me what was in it. I told him I did not know. He then said with an oath, 'I will know what is in it.' He then undertook to force the cover off, but failing, threw it aside. Then he stood up in

front of me and with an oath said, 'you keep quiet or I will blow your brains out.' By this time they had got all the moneys of the bank. The men all came out of the vault, excepting Clark.

The leader then spoke to me and said, 'Come, you must go into the vault.' I told him it was an air-tight place and I could not live in there. I said, 'I understand what your object is. It is that I shall give no alarm.' He replied, 'no matter, you have got to go in.' He took me by the shoulders and put me into the vault where Clark was. I was satisfied that if I made any resistance they would shoot me.

They then shut the two sets of iron doors which enclosed the vault, and turned the bolts from the outside, so that we could not get out. I very much feared the building was going to be burned, as they had stated. In about twenty minutes I heard footsteps and conversation in the banking room, and I made a noise on the door to attract attention. This was heard without and the doors were unbolted and we came out of the vault. The persons who opened the vault doors were J. R. Armington and Dana R. Bailey. I found myself in a very prostrate condition, owing to the close atmosphere in a small vault, and the intense fear and anxiety that I had passed through."

The amount taken from the bank was about $70,000, and the only person indentified as having participated in the affair was William H. Hutchinson, who resided in the State of Georgia, and who, by "the fortunes of war" had lost a large fortune on account of his secession proclivities. Lieutenant Young had prepared "a proclamation" which he designed to have read to the people of St. Albans, but in his hasty retreat failed to do so. It recited, in terms, the purpose of their mission, which was retaliation. The original was found at the time but could not afterwards be found.

What transpired in the streets immediately after the plundering of the banks is best described in the testimony of Capt. George P. Conger, then a late captain of one of the Vermont Cavalry companies, who had just returned from the war, and who had seen many raids in Virginia. He says: "On that day,

a little after three o'clock in the afternoon, I rode into the northerly part of the village of St. Albans from the east. I saw a great crowd of people towards the south part of the business portion of the village, around the American House and one of the banks. I met one Basford running his horse towards me, and he said, 'What is going on down street? there are men with pistols, taking horses from the stables,' and wanted to know what it all meant. I said to him, 'It is a regular raid.' I then jumped from my team and came south. The first one of the band I met was in command, whom I afterwards learned was Lieutenant Bennett H. Young, as he gave me his name and that of his orderly. He said, 'Are you a soldier?' I said, 'No.' Then he said, you are my prisoner, come with me to the other side of the green, opposite the American House.' I went with him. I said, 'I will take the sidewalk, as the road is all mud.' When he got opposite the Franklin County bank, near the American House, Lieutenant Young said, 'Halt!' He said to his orderly, 'You take him across the street.' There were a number of citizens under guard across the street, on the public green, at the time. I made up my mind that I would not be arrested by the band. I got away from them and ran into the American House, and down stairs, and down Lake street by the back way and then halloed to the people, 'Bring on your arms for a fight; there is a regular raid on St. Albans.' Then I came back in front of the American House, dressed in disguise. About that time I began to rally the citizens, and fire arms began to come in. The band saw the arms coming, and they began to move north. Then Lieut. Young fell in the rear with his orderly. He says 'Keep cool boys!' 'Keep cool!' One Downing says, 'Here is a rifle, sure fire, and well loaded.' I snapped it three times at Young, but it did not go off. I then followed on north and got some caps for guns. I then put on a new cap and came near to them. Then Young and his orderly both fired at me twice. He then said, 'Keep cool boys,' a second time. His command at this time were all on horseback. I then overtook them again, with a large number of citizens, a little further north, opposite the Tremont House, then one of the principal

hotels in the village, and tried to fire again. Then the firing began on both sides and continued a running fire all through the streets until the band were driven out of the village towards Canada."

While this firing was going on, Elias J. Morrison, of Manchester, N. H., a contractor engaged in building the Welden House, was mortally wounded by a bullet passing into his bowels, and died from his wounds on the 22d of October, 1864. Mr. Morrison was a sympathizer with the South on the issues growing out of the rebellion. He had held conversation with one or two of the raiders at the hotel a few days before the raid, in which he disclosed to them his sentiments, not suspecting the real character and purposes of the men. They afterwards, on learning the facts, said that the shot was not designed for Mr. Morrison, but for other persons skulking behind shade trees in the act of firing revolvers at them.

Collins H. Huntington, Esq., of St. Albans, was likewise shot while walking on the street, the ball passing into the body and striking a bone, caused it to change its course and thereby saved his life. He was shot by Lieutenant Young, who ordered him to "to halt," which he declined to do, but bravely marched along, not heeding his threats. He was in a critical condition for several weeks and finally recovered from his injuries.

Lorenzo Bingham was shot in the side, but the wound proved to be a slight one and he soon recovered.

Capt. Conger adds: "I then said to the citizens, 'bring on your horses, men and arms, and we will follow them.' I said, 'if you can't get arms there is no use of following them, they are going to fight hard.' The citizens did find horses and some arms, and I, in command, pursued this band and came near them at Sheldon, Vermont. They were trying to set buildings on fire, but we pursued them so closely they were obliged to leave. They set two bridges on fire across the river, in order to cut off our pursuit, but my men put out the fires. It was now nearly dark. My command then began to falter, as they were not used to such service, but kept following up until we got to Enosburgh Falls, Vermont. I said to my

men, 'I want you to follow me. I am going to follow these men into Canada, we have got to have another fight, and I want none unless they are willing to fight.' There were twenty-two of them who had kept up, and were willing to follow me wherever I wished to take them. I then marched on 'a still hunt' to Frelighsburgh in the Province of Canada. I then formed my men in front of the main hotel in line. I then entered the hotel with an orderly to see if I could find any of the band. I learned that the band had broken and dispersed in every direction on crossing the line in Canada.

I ordered the arrest of every one of the band that could be found. It occurred to me at this moment that I was in Canada, and I therefore ordered my men back into the State of Vermont.

It was now near morning and after we had got our breakfast, I said to my men, I am going back into Canada, and all my men followed me. I gave them orders to take the men comprising said band wherever found, dead or alive. As I was coming in sight of Frelighsburgh, Canada, I saw a man approaching me on the run. I ordered a halt. The man gave me a dispatch from General Dix, forwarded by Colonel Redfield Proctor from Burlington and by Constable L. A. Drew as bearer to Colonel Benton at St. Albans, and thence by Mr. Drew to Frelighsburgh. It was as follows: 'Send all the efficient force you have and try to find the marauders who came from Canada this morning. Put a discreet officer in command, and in case they are not found on one side of the line pursue them into Canada, if necessary, and destroy them."'

Such an order could only be justifiable, under the law of nations, where the neutral is so feeble as to render it impossible to preserve neutrality—which could not have been said of Great Britain—and hence the order was not sanctioned by the Government at Washington, and all that was done under it was attended with extreme peril to our citizens. Nevertheless, the order accomplished its purposes in awakening Great Britain to her sense of danger, chiefly because it had the ring of that celebrated order, "If any man hauls down the flag shoot him on the spot."

Capt. Newton, in command of another company, took a westerly route, with a view of cutting off the retreat of the band, but was unable to do so for want of time.

The reign of terror in the village of St. Albans, during the attack and immediately following it, was fearful. Plunder had been accomplishd and violence followed. The raid was brief but the scene was terrible while it lasted. The twenty or more marauders rushed up and down the streets, firing their revolvers in every direction. Wherever they saw a citizen, or groups of men, they would fire in that direction. As they retreated, they fired indiscriminately at men, women and children, in their houses, and as they were fleeing from them. They had magnificent arms—seven shooters—and as fast as one weapon was unloaded, they drew another and kept up the fusilade.

This reckless use of firearms could only result in injury to some, and the citizens soon began to return the fire with great courage. The marauders designed to have burned the village by the use of chemicals, known as "Greek fire," which they threw in vials against the buildings on the streets, breaking and igniting as they struck. The rear of the American House and the store of Hon. Victor Atwood were fired in this manner, and water appeared to have no impression on it as an extinguisher. It could only be arrested and extinguished by hewing it out of the wood.

Indeed, this terror was not confined to the scene of conflict alone. It spread with the rapidity of lightning throughout the land, and threw consternation into homes and villages along the entire northern frontier, contiguous to the Provinces of Canada, and especially on the northern border of Vermont. At Montpelier the Legislature was in session and the excitement was intense. It was the prevailing opinion that these marauders were but the advance guards of an army from Canada, which had, by surprise or collusion, temporarily overpowered their local government, and were marching through our State carrying all the horrors of war to our homes and firesides.

Hon. John W. Stewart was then a member of the Legis-

lature and was appointed a committee to wait on Gov. Smith in the Executive chamber, and advise with him in regard to the emergency. General Washburn was likewise present and apparently evinced as much anxiety and concern as at the battle of Big Bethel.

After a council of war, Gov. Smith telegraphed Lord Monck, Governor-General of Canada, as follows: "A party of raiders from the Province of Canada have invaded this State, have robbed all the banks in St. Albans, killed several citizens, and are plundering and destroying property." On the 21st of October, 1864, Lord Monck replied, "Your telegram has been received. You need entertain no apprehension that the law will not be impartially administered. An able magistrate, Judge Coursol of Montreal, has charge of the case."

At Burlington the wildest consternation prevailed. It was reported that the advance was general and the raiders had captured one of the steamers belonging to the Champlain Transportation Company, with a view to an attack upon all the principal ports on the lake. Oscar A. Burton, Esq., President of the Company, was interviewed and immediately sent a telegram to Rouses Point, N. Y., inquiring for particulars, and on learning that the report was unfounded, ordered the steamers at Rouses Point to be moved away from the moorings out into the lake to avoid surprise. He also furnished the crews of the various steamers with revolvers, in order to prevent and suppress piracy, such as had occurred on the 7th of December previously, to the steamer "Chesapeake," about twenty miles from Cape Cod, when certain disloyal men embarked at New York City for Portland, Maine, shot some of the officers and took control of the vessel, running her into a British port.

A general alarm was given and the citizens assembled in large numbers. Speeches were made and the press, under the direction of Hons. G. G. Benedict and George H. Bigelow, faithfully chronicled the important events. A military company was organized on the spot. A train of cars was at once dispatched to St. Albans, carrying volunteers.

Colonel Benton was placed in command of the militia at St. Albans, and Colonel Proctor at Burlington. Major Grout was

soon after ordered to St. Albans with four companies of cavalry and two field pieces, where he remained a long time. At Ogdensburg, Buffalo, Detroit and many other places, the excitement was great and military operations became active and efficient, and so continued that fall and winter. Rumors of contemplated attacks filled the air until the following spring. The streets of the principal northern villages were patroled during that fall and winter. On the 19th of December, 1864, Mr. Seward sent a dispatch to Minister Adams for Earl Russell, in which he aptly described the situation. He said: "While disappointment, disgust and regret on account of the escape of the felons at Montreal are expressed by the Canadian authorities, and while the expression is believed to be sincere, yet we have no authentic information that any proceedings have been taken to vindicate the so called neutrality of the British provinces, or prevent repetition of the injuries of which we complained, other than the unavailing renewed pursuit of the offenders out of one colony into another. This is the condition of affairs on the other side of the boundary.

On this side there has been intense feeling and energetic action. Congress has passed a law authorizing the building and equipment of six steam revenue cutters for service on the lakes.

The House of Representatives has passed and sent to the Senate, a bill which requests the President to give notice needful for bringing to an end the reciprocity treaty. Mr. Chandler, one of the Senators of Michigan in Congress, has submitted to the Senate resolutions of which a copy is hereto annexed. In submitting them, he discussed with severity and frankness the relations of the United States and the British Provinces. * * * * * *

Thus it appears that owing to transactions, for which the United States believe themselves perfectly irresponsible, a crisis has been reached, which does not suffer American citizens living in, or near, the British border, to navigate the frontier lakes and rivers in safety.

Their treasure is not safe in their vaults, and their sleep is

disturbed by well-founded apprehensions of midnight fire, robbery and murderous aggressions, from the British border provinces. Our appeals and our remonstrances to Her Majesty's government have not gained for us any assurance of greater security in the future."

No doubt these fears and apprehensions were greatly enhanced by the fact that the attack on St. Albans had partially failed. The writer afterwards learned from one of the raiders that their plan was to fire the residence of Governor Smith, on the hill, at a distance, and while the inhabitants were rushing to the scene of conflagration, they designed to carry out their plans. This they feared might result in closing the banks, and as the marauders were "broke" they abandoned that idea.

A letter addressed to the Hon. J. P. Benjamin, rebel Secretary of State, Richmond, Va., dated St. Catharines, C. W., November 1st, 1864, and with the initial letters, "C. C. C., Jr.," on it, evidently written by C. C. Clay, Jr., was intercepted by Major-General Augur at Washington, D. C., November 12th, 1864. The bearer of it claimed to have been a detective of the United States, in Montreal, and as they wanted to engage him for the service, it would ill become his profession to refuse "a job." So he undertook it. This letter fully disclosed the design and extent of the raid. Mr. Clay says therein: "I met Mr. Young at Halifax, on my way here in May last. He showed me letters from men whom I knew by reputation to be true friends of State Rights and, therefore, of Southern independence, vouching for his integrity as a man, his purity as a Christian and his loyalty as a soldier of the South. After satisfying me that his heart was with us in our struggle, and that he had suffered imprisonment for many months as a soldier of the Confederate States of America, from which he had escaped, he developed his plans for retaliating some of the injuries and outrages inflicted upon the South.

I thought them feasible and fully warranted by the law of nations, and therefore recommended him and his plans to the Secretary of War. He was sent back by the Secretary of War with a commission as Second Lieutenant, to execute his plans and purposes, but to report to Hon. ——— ——— and myself.

We prevented his achieving or attempting what I was sure he could have done, for reasons which may be fully explained hereafter. Finally, disappointed in his original purpose, and in all the subsequent enterprises projected, he proposed to return to the Confederate States via Halifax, but passing through the New England States and burning some towns, and robbing them of whatever he could *convert to the use of the Confederate Government.* This I approved as justifiable retaliation. He attempted to burn the town of St. Albans, Vermont, and would have succeeded but for the failure of the chemical preparations with which he was armed. Believing the town was already fired in several places, and must be destroyed, he then robbed the banks of all the funds he could find, amounting to more than two hundred thousand dollars.

That he was not prompted by selfish or mercenary motives, and that he did not intend to convert the funds taken to his own use, but to that of the Confederate States, I am as well satisfied as I am that he is an honest man, a true soldier and patriot, and no one who knows him will question his title to this c aracter.

He assured me before going on the raid that his efforts would be to destroy towns and farm houses, not to plunder or rob; but he said, if, after firing a town, he saw he could take funds from a bank or any house, which might inflict injury on the enemy and benefit his own government, he would do so. He added most emphatically that whatever he took should be turned over to the government, or its representatives in foreign lands.

My instructions to him, oft repeated, were, 'to destroy whatever was valuable, not to stop to rob, but if, after firing a town he could seize and carry off money, treasury or bank notes, he might do so on condition that they were delivered to the proper authorities of the Confederate States.' That they were not delivered according to his promise and undertaking was owing, I am sure, to the failure of his chemical compound to fire the town, and to the capture of himself and men on Canadian soil, where they were surprised and overpowered by superior numbers from the United States. On showing me his commission

and his instructions from Mr. Siddon, which were of course vague and indefinite, he said he was authorized to do all the damage he could to the enemy in the way of retaliation."

As in the national struggle then going on, the loyal people of the north seldom failed to inflict blows as well as receive them, so in this raid the insurgents' raiders suffered injury. Ex-Governor Wescott, formerly Governor and U. S. Senator from Florida, now residing in Canada, who was of counsel for the raiders, furnished the writer with much valuable information as to the extent of suffering by the raiders while pursuing their attack on St. Albans. He said that one of the leaders who first suggested the idea of raids on northern frontier towns while, at Camp Douglass, in Chicago, as a pisoner of war, was wounded in the back by a conical ball, and had to be supported by two of his companions riding on each side of him until they reached British soil. He was then concealed in the woods so as to prevent capture, and is said to have been attended professionally by Dr. J. S. Brigham, a southern sympathizer. This man was doubtless shot by Wilder Gilson, of St. Albans, who always insisted that as the raiders were riding out of town, he took deliberate aim with his favorite rifle, loaded with a conical ball, and as he fired his gun he saw one of the leaders on horse-back jump as if wounded, and immediately rode away. A holster, with a revolver, was found bearing marks of blood, which disclosed the fact that some one was severely wounded.

Another was wounded in the neck by a bullet passing near the jugular vein, and was captured, and during the first hearing for their extradition, wore a white handkerchief around his neck to conceal his wound as well as his guilt.

And another was slightly wounded—a flesh wound. And still another was so severely wounded that he afterwards died in Montreal, and was buried by his companions. This latter person, Gov. Wescott said, was so severely wounded that he stopped over night at a farm house within three miles of St. Albans, with a sympathizer, and the following night was conveyed into Canada by British subjects, and fully cared for until his death. Mr. Wescott also stated that several persons

who designed to have participated in the raid failed to reach St. Albans in time, and that as late as the evening of the following day he met one of them on board of one of the Lake Champlain steamers, who had in his possession, in a trunk, a quantity of "Greek-fire," which was afterwards, by his advice, thrown overboard to prevent detection and arrest.

There were also about fifty others who failed to "put in" an appearance in time, or who were skulking in the neighboring woods ready to participate until their courage failed them.

After receiving General Dix's dispatch, the pursuing party and others captured and assisted Canadian officials in capturing fourteen of the raiders and about $86,000 of their booty. One of the gang immediately sent the following dispatch:

"GEORGE N. SANDERS, OTTAWA HOTEL, MONTREAL:

We are captured. Do what you can for us.

C. M. WALLACE."

Lieutenant Young, the leader, was recognized and captured by George Beals and E. D. Fuller, on Canadian soil. He expressed to his captors his regret that his party did not burn St. Albans, but they were so fast for plunder that they neglected to do so. Shortly thereafter Young wrote the following letter:

FRELIGHSBURGH, C. E., SATURDAY, OCT. 21.

To the Editor of the Evening Telegraph:

"Through the columns of your journal I wish to make some statements to the people of Canada, regarding the recent operations in Vermont. I went there for the purpose of burning the town and surrounding villages in retaliation for the recent outrages committed in the Shenandoah Valley, and elsewhere in the Confederate States. I am a commissioned officer of the Provisional Army of the Confederate States, and have violated no laws of Canada. I do not wish my name coupled with the epithets now applied without a knowledge on the part of the people of Canada, as to who we are and what caused our action. I wish, also, to make a few statements as to how myself and party were taken. I was seized on Canadian soil by American citizens with arms in their hands and violently

searched. My pocket-book was taken from me, and I was started towards the United States. I reached out my hand and caught the reins of my horse, when three pistols were leveled at my head, with threats to shoot the d——d scoundrel dead, if he moved. Some Canadian citizens then spoke up and the Americans, seeing the bailiff, started with me toward him, two of them holding arms in their hands. These statements can be proved by Canadian citizens. The Americans came into this place and even beyond it, brandishing guns and threatening to kill some of us even after we were in the hands of the English authorities. Surely the people of Vermont must have forgotten that the people of Canada are not in the midst of war, and ruled by a man despotic in his actions and supreme in his infamy. I am not afraid to go before the courts of Canada, and when the affair is investigated, I am satisfied that the citizens of Vermont, and not my party, will be found to be the violators of Canadian and English law. Some one, I hope, will be sent to investigate this breach of neutrality, and award to those American citizens doing armed duty in Canada, the just merit of their transgressions."

Hoping you will give this a publication,

I remain, Yours Respectfully,

BENNETT H. YOUNG.
First Lieutenant Provisional Army,
Confederate States of America.

Hon R. H. Hoyt, Alanson M. Clark, C. C. Burton, Marshal Mason, and many others from St. Albans, interviewed Lieutenant Young at Frelighsburgh, and acquainted him with the fact that many widows and orphans would suffer in consequence of his depletion of the vaults of the banks at St. Albans. He retorted, by saying that that was all very nice talk when applied to the northern people, but that it had no significance with the northern armies then subjugating the south by means of fire, the sword and the musket.

He himself had suffered even more than the horrors of the battlefield. He had been bereft of his kin, and boastfully de-

clared, as also did George W. Sanders, at St. Johns, that this incursion was but the beginning of a series of attacks which would terrify the people of the northern border states, so that they would release the final grasp they then held at the neck of the rebellion.

These facts were testified to, substantially, by H. G. Edson Esq., at the military trial of the assassins of Abraham Lincoln, he having been of counsel for the U. S. Government and the banks, with Hon. Geo. F. Edmunds, the writer, and others, in the application for the extradition of the raiders.

Their pursuers labored under many difficulties on account of the extreme friendliness of the Canadian constabulary and authorities. There were, however, some notable exceptions, where even proffered bribes of the raiders would not influence the higher sense of justice.

Mr. Whitman, a Magistrate of Stanbridge, an American by birth, but a naturalized British subject, was instrumental in capturing and saving about $53,000 of moneys and securities, and acting under the advice of J. C. Baker Esq., not only held them, but transferred them into the hands of the Canadian authorities. Nearly all others were recreant and gave away to temptation.

One Anson Kemp, a Canadian official, received from Wallace a package containing $10,000 of funds, which he retained. One Wells, a Bailiff, assisted in securing $1500 in the shed of a hotel. One Manahan, a Lawyer, likewise secreted quite an amount. Afterwards Wallace and Swager were discharged as belligerents, and they returned to Frelighsburgh and demanded the moneys they had left with the above officials, and which they had appropriated to their own use,—but when litigation became imminent, they each paid back to the raiders, instead of the real owners, the several amounts left with them, or portions of it. This appeared clearly from the testimony of Ambrose L. Hall and Charles O. Standish, who both resided at Frelighsburgh at the time, and the latter acted as the bearer of dispatches from Lieut. Young to Clay and Sanders, at Montreal, on the night of the raid.

Search warrants and warrants for arrest were refused by the Canadian Magistrates with one or two exceptions, and especially by Mr. Kemp, the Magistrate at Frelighsburgh, who claimed that he had no power under Canadian laws to issue even a search warrant, after an affidavit had been filed upon which to base its issuance. This and similar obstacles, of course, rendered the further pursuit and capture of men and money almost impossible, although such offenders as had been captured were held to await application for extradition, under the 10th Article of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842.

Mr. Seward, on the 21st of October, 1864, demanded, under that treaty, the extradition of the fugitives, and the surrender of the money and securities, but the subsequent conduct of British officials will show clearly the prevailing sympathy, if not corruption, of some of the officials.

Prior to 1861, Justices of the Peace had jurisdiction in such cases, but the celebrated Anderson case, that of a negro from Missouri who shot his master while the latter was brutally pursuing him, involved such complications, that Parliament in 1861 gave such jurisdiction exclusively to judges of a court of record. Hence Lord Monck directed Charles J. Coursol, a Police Judge of Montreal, to proceed to Stanbridge and take the prisoners into custody and try them on such application, which he did, taking them out of the jurisdiction of the Justices. He accordingly removed the prisoners to St. Johns, where they were placed in jail. They were arraigned before him, and as the preliminary affidavits were being drawn up, the magistrates were ordered to deliver over the money and securities they held, into the hands of one Guilliam LaMothe, then a chief of police of Montreal.

The writer, as counsel for the several banks, protested against such transfer, when Judge Coursol exhibited to him a despatch directing him to appoint an agent to receive those funds, to be used as evidence on behalf of the government in their application for their extradition, which made the Canadian Government liable for their safe-keeping.

After the completion of the affidavits, and the issuance of the necessary warrants, rumors of contemplated raids from

the United States, for the pretended purpose of kidnapping the raiders, were started by their friends. This was a ruse, started for the purpose of getting an order from the governor or the attorney-general of Canada to remove the prisoners to Montreal, where they could find more congenial spirits, in the persons of their relatives, acquaintances and sympathizers, of both sexes. They were accordingly ordered to be removed, against the protest of some of the sufferers, and as they entered the city of Montreal, they were greeted by the congratulations of their friends and the huzzahs of the multitude.

A company of artillery accompanied them from the depot to prison, which served the double purpose of an escort for the raiders, and an assurance of fidelity to the interests of the United States. The display was a fine one, and gave universal satisfaction. At the prison they were warmly received. Their apartments were furnished with all the modern hotel improvements on "the European plan."

Their dinners were served with "bills of fare," not omitting "the wine list," by competent attendants, such as would grace the table of a prince. Lieut. Young facetiously refers to it in the following characteristic letter:

"MONTREAL, Nov. 17, 1864.

To the Editor of the St. Albans Messenger—

Would you please send me two copies of your daily. During the present investigation, your editorials are quite interesting, and will furnish considerable amusement to myself and comrades. You are somewhat abusive, but I am sufficiently magnanimous to overlook your ire, feeling that in after years you will do me the justice to repair the wrong.

I am extremely sorry that I cannot visit your town and subscribe for your valuable journal in person. My business engagements in Montreal prevent my coming at present. Address me care 'Montreal jail.' Should you not send me the papers, I hope you will remit enclosed bill by return mail. Should you visit Montreal in the next few weeks, I will be found at Payette's Hotel, (the jail,) and will be grateful to see you.

Yours Respectfully,

BENNETT H. YOUNG.
First Lieut. Provisional
Army Confederate States."

Accompanying the foregoing letter was a three-dollar St. Albans bank bill, which, it was found, did not come into his possession honestly. The tone of this letter was in wide contrast with Young's professions in 1861, when he was a theological student at Toronto, Canada West.

Here litigation and technicality began, and writs of *habeas corpus* were invoked. Here treachery and bribery insidiously crept in and exhibited themselves.

On the day following the raid, when Judge Coursol was applied to as the commander of the Militia in the district of Montreal, which embraced the Southern frontier of Canada bordering on Vermont, and which included the police and detective forces therein, he assured Hon. A. O. Aldis and a cashier of one of the banks, that he knew of a man who would secure the extradition of the raiders without question for the sum of $10,000. The keen perception of these gentlemen was not slow in detecting that the British Judge himself was the person. Judge Aldis at once replied that the banks had offered a reward of $10,000 for the surrender of the men and securities, payable on their conviction, or the delivery of the funds. Hence this British Judge, as he was pleased to call himself, half French and apparently half Aborigenes, exhibited great zeal at the first hearing, which lasted several days after the raid, and down to the 13th of November 1864, when a continuance of thirty days was asked for by the counsel for the prisoners and granted. Two bearers of dispatches were immediately separately sent from Montreal to Richmond, Va., for the purpose of getting record evidence of the appointment of Lieut. Young by Jefferson Davis, to undertake the raid. One of them was captured by General Augur, on the 12th of November, 1864, and the other, S. F. Cameron, a Chaplain in the Confederate service, ran the Union lines and entered Richmond in safety. While crossing the Potomac river below Washington, on the route, their small boat was capsized by a shot from a Union battery on the banks of the river, and one of the party drowned. Cameron, however, reached shore and passed through St. Albans in the character and habiliments of a Roman Catholic Priest, accompanied by two women dressed in

the robes of nuns. This so eluded the vigilance of the detectives that they passed into Canada unsearched. Mr. Cameron has since written a book entitled, 'The Confederate Secret Service," which was widely circulated at the South, similar to "Baker's Secret Service."

During the interim of adjournments, counsel for the prisoners were busily engaged in their efforts to find grounds to secure their release. Judge Coursol and Edward Carter had been appointed by Attorney-General George E. Cartier to prepare the warrants upon which the prisoners were held. These warrants were said to have been defective, and hence illegal, and this fact was well known to the law officers of the Canadian Government before the final hearing. Mr. Carter, however, disclosed their defects to Mr. Kerr, of counsel for the prisoners, who was his brother-in-law. Accordingly, Mr. Kerr, on the 13th of December, 1864, the day on which the case stood adjourned, and before a portion of the counsel of the United States and the banks had arrived, moved before Judge Coursol that the prisoners be discharged on account of these defects. Whereupon Judge Coursol, in a very precipitate manner, after delivering a lengthy opinion—which could not have been prepared by him in the short time allotted him for that purpose—not only discharged the prisoners for the particular offence on which he had had a hearing, but likewise on five other separate offences and warrants upon which no hearings had been had, and ordered the money and securities captured from them, and in the custody of the law, restored to their agent, for which written orders had previously been prepared and held in readiness.

The writer was the only person present in the court-room from Vermont, at the time—others having been detained by a storm, and the scene in the court-room which followed their discharge was a disgrace to any court of justice. The final announcement of their discharge was attended with rounds of applause and screams never before heard or known in a court of justice, in which all seemed to participate. Then there was a rush for the doors and streets, and the news spread through the city and country with great celerity.

Hon. John Rose, of counsel for the United States, then one of the Canadian ministers, protested against such conduct. Hon. Barney Develin followed him, by warning the Canadians that such a course would be denounced by the United States with great severity, and would prove detrimental to the provinces. Counsel from the United States could only express their opinions outside of the court room, as they were not permitted at any time to address the court, because they had not been admitted to the Canadian bar and adopted the customary "robes and choker." Hon. Geo. F. Edmunds was inquired of if he designed to return to Montreal in the event of the recapture of any of the men to ask for their extradition. He quickly replied that "if he did it would be at the head of a regiment."

Mr. Seward, in his letter to Minister Adams, under date of December 24th, 1864, fitly describes what followed. He says:

"In my dispatch of the 14th inst. I informed you that Coursol, the Provincial Judge at Montreal, had set at liberty the fellows who committed the crimes of robbery and murder at St. Albans. Subsequent information comprises the fact, with the addition that the money stolen, to the amount, as it is understood, of ninety thousand dollars, which was in the custody of the law, was delivered to the felons by the police, under the direction of the same judge, and that thus richly furnished with the spoils of our citizens, they were conveyed, amid popular acclamation, in sleighs which had been prepared for their escape, from the court-room, beyond the reach of fresh pursuit; that the discharge of the prisoners was placed upon technical grounds, now confessed to be erroneous, equally in law and in fact; that when new warrants were issued, the police were dilatory and treacherous in their execution, and that all efforts for the recapture of the culprits have thus far been unsuccessful. It is believed that they have already escaped from Canada to find even more sure protection and favor in Nova Scotia. It is impossible to consider those proceedings as either legal, just, or friendly towards the United States."

Mr. Richie, the partner of the Hon. John Rose, in company with the writer, immediately prepared fresh affidavits and

warrants for the arrest of the fugitives, and, after applying to two of the judges of the Superior Court of Canada to sign a warrant for that purpose, and receiving direct refusals, finally succeeded in prevailing upon Judge James Smith, another Superior Judge, to sign a warrant. Mr. Richie and Hon. Geo. F. Edmunds then applied to Mr. Lamothe, chief of police, to execute the warrant, but he declined and likewise declined to permit any one of his numerous police force to execute the same. Finally, at a late hour that night, the High Sheriff of Montreal was prevailed upon to take the warrants, and, after several days' pursuit by a faithful government policeman, Mr. McLaughlin, five of the number were recaptured; namely, Young, Travis, Spurr, Hutchinson and Swager, who, after a protracted hearing, were discharged by Judge Smith, on the ground that they were belligerents against the United States, and that their doings at St. Albans were acts of war, and were consequently excepted out of the operations of the extradition treaty. He, however, held as a matter of law, that Judge Coursol erred in the precipitate and unwarranted manner in which he ordered the discharge of the prisoners and the surrender of the funds to them.

Judge Coursol was, at that time, suspected and publicly accused of complicity with the raiders, and subsequent events strengthened these suspicions. He was summoned to appear before the police committee of the city council of Montreal, and there declined to answer interrogatories relating to his malfeasance in office, as beneath the dignity of a British Judge. He, however, was forced to admit that he had been in company with Sanders and one John Porterfield, the financial agent of the Confederate States in Canada. Afterwards it was rumored, and not denied, that a large sum of money was paid this British Judge by a Southern refugee, then sojourning in Canada, who shortly thereafter left the Provinces, not to return again. This judge was suspended from office in consequence of his conduct in the matter. The Hon. H. W. Torrence was appointed a commissioner by Lord Monck to inquire into the conduct of Mr. Lamothe and Judge Coursol, and made an elaborate report to the government. This com-

missioner reported that Judge Coursol was indictable for a "malfeasance in his functions," as a justice, in having discharged the prisoners on the 13th of December, 1864, and Mr. Lamothe was discharged from the office of chief of police.

Notwithstanding his extraordinary conduct, Judge Coursol was restored to his position as Judge on the 9th of April, 1866, by order of Sir George E. Cartier, Attorney General, and has been several times elected mayor of Montreal, and, on one occasion, entertained the Editorial Fraternity of New England with great magnificence at his palatial residence in Montreal.

The witnesses, on behalf of the United States, were many times sneered and jeered at, while on the streets, in the court room, and even on the witness stand in court, by women sympathizers with the Confederate cause, of whom there were large numbers in attendance, frequently evincing the bold and dashing characteristics of Southern chivalry.

Shortly after this time, Lord Monck suggested to the sufferers at St. Albans, that, if memorialized, he would recommend an appropriation to pay the amount of money and securities so wrongfully given up by order of Coursol and Lamothe. This was done, and in April, 1865, $19,000 in gold was paid to the First National Bank; $20,000 to the St. Albans Bank; and $31,000 in the bills of the Franklin County Bank, returned to that Bank, said to have been purchased by an agent of the Canadian Government, at ten cents on the dollar. For this act the Canadians have frequently boasted of their magnanimity, and not unfrequently claiming that they had paid the entire loss by the raid, of which this was a mere small proportion.

The names of these marauders, as given by themselves, on their examination, were as follows: Bennett H. Young, Samuel Eugene Lackey, Squire Turner Travis, Alexander Pope Bruce, Charles Moore Swager, Caleb McDonald Wallace, James Alexander Doty, Joseph McGrorty, Samuel Simpson Gregg, Dudley Moore, Thomas Bronsden Collins, George Scott and William H. Hutchinson.

They were young men of apparent education, culture and gentlemanly urbanity. They were mostly from the State of

Kentucky—were soldiers in the Confederate service, principally from Mosby's and Morgan's guerilla bands, and a few Sundays before their raid on St. Albans had attended church in that village, and occupied the pews of men whom they afterwards sought to destroy. Some of them had been captured and held as prisoners of war in northern prisons, and by strategy had escaped into Canada as an asylum. They each of them made a voluntary statement at their examination. One of these will suffice to show the motives which actuated them in making the raid.

Thomas Bronsdon Collins says: I have violated no laws of Canada or Great Britain. Whatever I may have done at St. Albans, I did as a Confederate officer, acting under Lieutenant Young. When I left St. Albans, I came to Canada solely for protection. I entered a hotel at Stanbridge unarmed and alone and was arrested and handcuffed by a Canadian magistrate, (Whitman,) assisted by Yankees. He had no warrant for my arrest, nor had any sworn complaint been made to him against me. About $9,300 was taken from me when arrested, part Confederate booty, lawfully captured and held by me as such, and part of my own private funds.

I asked the restoration of the money taken from me, and my discharge, as demanded by the rules of international law. The treaty under which my extradition is claimed applies to robbers, murderers, thieves and forgers. I am neither, but a soldier, serving my country in a war commenced and waged against us by a barbarous foe, in violation of their own constitution, in disregard of all the rules of warfare as interpreted by civilized nations and Christian people and against Yankees too wise to expose themselves to danger, while they can buy mercenaries and steal negroes to fight their battles for them, who, whilst prating of neutrality, seduce your own people along the borders to violate the proclamation of your august Sovereign by joining their armies, and leave them when captured by us to languish as prisoners in a climate unwholesome to them. If I aided in the sack of the St. Albans banks, it was because they were public institutions, and because I knew the pocket nerve of the Yankees to be the most sensitive, that they

would suffer most by being rudely touched. I cared nothing for the booty, except to injure the enemies of my country. Federal soldiers are bought up at $1,000 a head, and the capture of $200,000 is equivalent to the destruction of two hundred of said soldiers. I therefore thought the expedition 'would pay:' I guess it did, in view of the facts; also, that they have wisely sent several thousand soldiers from the 'bloody front' to protect exposed points in the rear. For the part I took I am ready to abide the consequences, knowing that if I am extradited to the Yankee butchers, my government can avenge, if not protect its soldiers."

At the April term, 1865, of the Franklin County Court of Vermont, the Grand Jury found true bills of indictment against the above named parties, as well as against one Hezekiah Payne, for murder, attempt at murder and arson, alleged to have been committed at St. Albans at the time of the raid. A reward had been offered for the apprehension and conviction of any of the alleged felons, which resulted in the arrest of Payne at Detroit, Michigan, by one Captain Smith, a Southerner by birth, and formerly a captain in the Confederate army. Captain Smith was employed by Colonel Hill at Detroit, with instructions to report at Colonel Hill's headquarters. This captain assumed the character of a Southern refugee and was assigned to duty by the government at Windsor, Canada West, directly opposite Detroit. Here the government placed him in charge of a hotel, in which he assumed to be landlord, and he had among his guests from sixty to ninety regular boarders, nearly all Southern refugees, who little suspected at the time that they were boarding with a United States Government detective, and who was daily reporting their sayings and doings in secret conclave to Colonel Hill. Mr. Payne was one of his constant boarders during the winter of 1864–5, and boastingly declared fully his connection with the St. Albans raid to Captain Smith and others of the band. Colonel Hill accordingly placed a female detective on Payne's track, who by her charms induced the latter to escort her to a theatre in Detroit on an evening. They accordingly embarked on board of the ferry boat, and as Payne

stepped from the boat upon the wharf, he was arrested by a United States Marshal, apparently very much to the chagrin and disgust of his fair companion. A search was at once instituted, and bills on one of the St. Albans banks were found concealed in the lining of his coat. He was conveyed to St. Albans and tried for the offences for which he had been indicted by a county court and jury, presided over by Chief Justice John Pierpoint, in June, 1865. He was identified in court by nearly half a dozen witnesses residing in St. Albans; among them was the Rev. Francis W. Smith, who had no doubt as to his being the identical person who presented a revolver while on horseback, at one Nettleton, in the streets of St. Albans on the day of the raid, and compelled the latter to deliver to him his cap, as he had lost his own in the affray when he rode off towards Canada. On the other hand, the respondent introduced testimony to prove an apparent alibi, of the most positive character, that on the morning of the day following the raid, at about 8½ o'clock, the prisoner was at a broker's office in Montreal, in company with a number of Southerners. This testimony left grounds for a reasonable doubt in the minds of the jury, and Payne was acquitted. A prominent Southerner afterwards informed the writer, in Montreal, that Payne participated in the St. Albans raid, and by dint of good luck reached Montreal the following morning at six o'clock, and delivered his booty to the Confederate treasury at that place. It thus appeared that all of the witnesses told the truth, but that the length of time which it would take to travel from St. Albans to Montreal, distant about sixty miles, over fearfully bad roads, was lost sight of, or not duly considered by the prosecution and the jury. Payne having been tried once, could not again be placed in jeopardy. He was supposed by many to have been a near relative of Lewis Payne, the assailant of Secretary Seward and his son Frederick, on the night of the assassination of President Lincoln, and whose diabolical plans were in part frustrated by the timely interference of George T. Robinson, a disabled Union soldier, a private in the 8th Maine Volunteers, in the employ of Mr. Seward as a nurse at that time. This latter Payne was tried

and hung by the side of Mrs. Mary E. Surratt, in the old Penitentiary jail yard in Washington, D. C., by order of a military court who tried all of the conspirators on the 9th of July, 1865, presided over by General Hancock.

Many of the St. Albans raiders are now residing in the United States, and the writer has frequently received communications from loyal persons in different parts of the country apprising him of their whereabouts, but the amnesty acts of Congress would doubtless fully acquit them, if our courts should stand to the decisions of the British courts, sanctioned by the Court of Queen's Bench in England, wherein they have said that "though the Confederate States are not recognized as independent, they are recognized as a belligerent power, and there can be no doubt that parties acting in their behalf would not be criminally responsible."

In June 1872, the writer addressed a letter to Bennett H. Young, then a lawyer at Louisville, Kentucky, calling for certain supposed facts connected with the raid, reminding him that while in Montreal at the time of his discharge, he had given assurances of assistance to the widow and children of Mr. Morrison, on account of his proclivities. A respectful reply was made but no assistance was rendered.

Shortly thereafter, it was rumored that he had died, but it is believed that this was done for the purpose of preventing further inquiry. He had abandoned his theological studies and had married the daughter of a Presbyterian Clergyman, to whom he had evidently assigned the care of his religion.

The writer has also been credibly informed that Swager escaped into France from Canada after his discharge, and under an assumed name became a diplomatic or consular agent of the United States at, or near Paris, and remained such until his true character was afterwards made known to the government, when he was summarily discharged. He afterwards enlisted as a soldier in the French army, and at the siege of Paris by the Prussians, during the Franco-Prussian war of 1871, was mortally wounded and died at Paris, in France, and his remains were brought to the United States for interment.

The conduct of the Canadian Government, or officials, in relation to the United States, up to this time, had the appearance of indifference to the rights of the latter. It was, however, in keeping with the position taken by the British Government in relation to the war.

The latter had by proclamation of the Queen declared the Confederates belligerents, before they had received intelligence that a battle had been fought. They had likewise permitted the Lairds to build cruisers or privateers, on their territories, and to escape their ports and waters, with a full armament on board, after our government had notified them officially of the manifest purposes of the owners of the vessels, for which they were compelled to pay $15,000,000 compensation by the award of the Geneva Arbitration. The conduct of Chief Justice Cockburn, the British Arbitrator, in delivering a dissenting opinion, betrayed the feelings of that Government.

He manifested much feeling, and considerable passion. He at first undertook to surprise our counsel by calling on them for an oral discussion of the question as to what would constitute due diligence under the Washington treaty, knowing that two or three of the arbitrators could not understand English when spoken.

Much to his surprise, Hon. William M. Evarts discussed the question in English, and was repeatedly interrupted by the Chief Justice, and following him, the Hon. Caleb Cushing argued the question in an able and exhaustive argument in the French language, so that the arbitrators were fully informed on the subject, the French language being somewhat of a court language in Europe. After the Chief Justice had read his opinion, he hastily threw it on the table, and abruptly left the room, and the city of Geneva, and did not participate in the general rejoicings and displays over the successful establishment of a precedent for the settlement of national differences, by national arbitration, rather than by the arbitrament of war.

Mr. Cushing afterwards wrote a book on the subject of the arbitration at Geneva, in which he was pleased to call the Chief Justice of England, *en enfant terrible*, which excited much comment and correspondence in diplomatic circles.

The circumstances connected with the St. Albans raid were fully discussed at Geneva, as the principles of law were supposed to be analagous, by writers on international law, whether the expedition was fitted out and pursued by land or by water. Hence, under the 12th section of the treaty of Washington, a "mixed commission on American and British claims," was constituted and organized, for the purpose, in part, of considering and adjusting "kindred claims" to those of the "Alabama claims." This, of course, resulted in a number of claims being presented by the sufferers by the St. Albans raid, and important developments being made, tending to implicate the Canadian officials with that raid, and, particularly, as tending to show that the raid was organized on Canadian soil as a part of a great conspiracy, and that some of those officials had knowledge of it before it occurred.

The extensive correspondence of Mr. Seward, with Lord Lyons and Earl Russell, fully disclosed the fact of contemplated raids from Canada, and the active movements of the insurgents on Canadian soil in 1863, and the early part of 1864, and the apparent indifference of the Canadian Government in relation to the same. This state of things, followed by the St. Albans raid, led to the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty, then existing between the two countries, and the enforcement, for a time, of a rigid passport system along the frontier. It also contributed towards making a case against the British Government for breaches of neutrality, and asking compensation therefor. An effort was made, by certain parties who had suffered by land and water, to make a case, in many respects similar to the claims filed by our Government against Great Britain, but making British subjects the sufferers; and hence sprang up the Fenian raids on Canada—the one occurring under Generals Spear and Sweeney, in the years 1866, and the other under General O'Neil in the latter part of May, and fore part of June, 1870, with their headquarters at St. Albans. These raids, however, though one of them resulted in a short battle at St. Armand, eighteen miles north of St. Albans, on Canadian soil, lacked the important element of belligerency in order to constitute a similarity. In one of the communica-

tions, by Mr. Seward to Minister Adams, on the subject, the former asked the opinion of the latter as to the propriety of making up a similar case with a view to the settlement of the question of compensation, by American citizens. The latter wisely replied that, by so doing, it would be an acknowledgement that the British Government were right in their course; and that was an end of the subject.

The St. Albans raid would never have been thought of but for the conviction that Canada was so friendly with the South and so inimical to the North that the raiders would be safe, whatever atrocities they might commit, if they could only jump back across the line—and no wonder they arrived at this conclusion. Vallandigham—the arch traitor—had been feted, and free-passed through Canada, and received by some of the members of the Government of Quebec. Confederate officers and soldiers had been conveyed to the boat, in which they were departing—doubtless for aggressive movements on the North—by one of the regimental bands of the British army in Canada. A considerable portion of the Canadian press continued, day after day, to manifest bitter hatred for the North, and was supported, in so doing, by a considerable proportion of their most influential men. British unfriendliness made a conspicuous figure in the discussions at Geneva, and was justly regarded by the Arbitrators there as a fact proven, and of vital importance.

The speeches of Lord Palmerston and the Earl Russell, cited at Geneva, and which have become historical, and the unfriendly tone of the London press were re-produced in the "Montreal Gazette," and found their echo in nearly every village newspaper in Canada. "When all this was going on," says the "Montreal Witness" of the 22d of October, 1864, "before the eyes of Southern refugees, they could come to no other conclusion than they arrived at, that Canada was a safe base of operations against the North." It was this popular sympathy that Count Sclopis, the great Italian jurist and the chairman of the board of Arbitrators at Geneva, alluded to with such felicity and force of argument in his opinion at Geneva. He said: "No government is safe against certain

waves of public opinion which it cannot master at its will. I am far from thinking that the *animus* of the English Government was hostile to the Federal Government during the war. Yet there were grave dangers for the United States in Great Britain *and her colonies*, which there were no direct means of averting. England, therefore, should have fulfilled her duties as a neutral, by the exercise of a diligence equal to the gravity of the danger. It cannot be denied that there were moments when its watchfulness seemed to fail, and when feebleness in certain branches of the public service resulted in great detriment to the United States. The consequence of such feebleness can be no other than a reparation for the damages suffered."

The evidence abundantly proved that this "feebleness" existed in Canada till after the St. Albans raid. Then the government seemed to arouse to its dangers and duties. But it took some time for "the waves" of popular feeling to subside. Even after the raid, and the reaction consequent upon its outrages, C. C. Clay Jr., in his intercepted letter, said: "The sympathy of nine tenths of the Canadians are with Young and his men, and a majority of all the newspapers justify or excuse his acts as merely retaliatory." Indeed, even after the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, many of the Southerners in Montreal were permitted on receiving the intelligence of his assassination to celebrate the event by a general carousal. John H. Surratt, one of the conspirators, was in Montreal, at St. Lawrence Hall, on the 6th of April, 1865, and was telegraphed by John Wilkes Booth to come to Washington, D, C., on the 10th of April, 1865, and he paid his bill at St. Lawrence Hall, and left on the 12th of April, having registered his name as "John Harrison," on the Hotel Register, as appears by "The trial of John H. Surratt," Vol. I. page 166. He returned to Montreal via St. Albans, on Tuesday morning, the 18th of April, 1865, and again registered his name as "John Harrison," on the St. Lawrence Hall Register, and immediately learning that parties were in pursuit of him to secure a reward, he was secreted in the house of John Porterfield, and was shortly afterwards taken into the country, and secreted in the house of a Roman Catholic Priest, where he remained until

he sailed to Liverpool, and thence proceeded to Alexandria, in Egypt, where he was arrested and brought to the United States for trial. While passing through St. Albans, he was suspected by William R. Conger, Albert Sowles and the writer, who were witnesses at his trial. Carl Hobart, Charles H. Blinn, and George F. Chapin likewise identified him in open court as the person whom they saw at Burlington and St. Albans, on the night of the 17th, and morning of the 18th of April, 1865, *en route* for Montreal. William E. Wheeler testified that in October, 1864, he saw J. Wilkes Booth in Montreal, in front of St. Lawrence Hall, in company with a person answering the description of Sanders. (See Trial of John H. Surratt, Vol. I, p. 315.) In March and April, 1865, it was established beyond question, that Booth was in Montreal, in company with Sanders. F. Geriken testified that he saw him in Sanders' room, at St. Lawrence Hall, in secret conversation. The following appears on page 478, History of Secret Service, by Baker. "About this time, certain gentlemen in Canada began to be unenviably known. I make no charges against those whom I do not know, but simply say that the Confederate agents, Jacob Thompson, Larry McDonald, Clement Clay, and some others, had already accomplished enough villainy to make Wilkes Booth, on the first of the present year, believe that he had but to seek an interview with them. He visited the provinces once, certainly, and three times, it is believed, stopping in Montreal, at St. Lawrence Hall, and banking four hundred and fifty-five dollars odd at the Ontario Bank. This was his own money. I have, myself, seen his bank-book with the single entry of this amount. It was found in the room of Atzeroth at Kirkwood's Hotel. Some one, or all of these agents, furnished Booth with a murderer—the fellow Wood, or Payne, who stabbed Mr. Seward, and was caught at Mrs. Surratt's house in Washington. He was one of the three Kentucky brothers, all outlaws, and had, himself, it is believed, accompanied one of his brothers, who is known to have been at St. Albans on the day of the bank delivery. This Payne, besides being positively identified as the assassin of the Sewards, had no friends nor haunts in

Washington. He was simply a dispatched murderer, and after the night of the crime, struck northward for the frontier, instead of southward, in the company of Booth."

A reward of $20,000 for Sanders and $25,000 for Thompson was offered by the United States Government for their apprehension and conviction, on account of this conspiracy. An attempt was made to kidnap Sanders, but he was rescued by the authorities of Canada.

From the letter of Jacob Thompson to Mr. Benjamin, Secretary of State of the Confederacy, obtained from the rebel archives, now in the hands of the U. S. Government, it appears "that he and C. C. Clay Jr., were sent early in 1864, to Canada, by the Confederate Government, as political agents, armed with the largest powers; that they took with them $600,000 of Confederate funds in gold; that he, (Thompson,) knew nothing of the details of the St. Albans raid, but Clay ordered it and furnished the money for it."

These uncontrovertible facts leave no doubt of a conspiracy covering all the overt acts afterwards committed, through the procurement of those political agents, with Confederate money, fully organized, and proceeding from Canada to St. Albans, Washington and other places. Lieut. Young was appointed on the 16th of June, 1864, by Jefferson Davis, through the Confederate Secretary of War, First Lieutenant for special service, and this order given him: "You will proceed without delay to the British Provinces, where you will report to Messrs. Thompson and Clay for instructions."

On the 6th of October, 1864, Young received the following order from C. C. Clay Jr., who was then in Montreal: "Your suggestion for a raid upon accessible towns in Vermont, commencing with St. Albans, is approved, and you are authorized and required to act in conformity with that suggestion.

Oct. 6th, 1864. C. C. Clay Jr."

Indeed, Judge Smith, in his opinion delivered in the St. Albans case, says: "While at St. Catherines, Young reported his doings to Mr. Clay, and obtained his sanction, both verbal and witten, of the projected attack. While in Montreal, in

October, he received from Mr. Clay $400 towards the expenses of the expedition."

It was also a significant fact that there was no neutrality law in Canada till February, 1865. The act of Parliament of 1861 had re-enacted the old act, giving force to the treaty, with numerous amendments. This act, as amended, never had received Royal sanction until the above date, and, hence, it had been nugatory until sanctioned. This the raiders knew, and relied upon it. They had taken counsel as to the law of extradition, and claimed at once that they were "belligerents, not robbers."

At a very early date in 1862, the attention of the British Government was called to the inadequacy of their laws to prevent hostile expeditions and to preserve neutrality. It was in reference to these requests that Lord Palmerston made his memorable speech of March 27th, 1863, in which he spoke of them as follows: "A cry raised against England to create political capital in America. But if this cry is raised for the purpose of driving Her Majesty's Government to do something which may be contrary to the laws of the country, or which may be derogatory to the dignity of the country in the way of altering our laws for the purpose of pleasing another government, then all I can say is that such a course is not likely to accomplish its purposes."

On the 15th of December, 1864, Lord Monck wrote to Mr. Cardwell, British Foreign Secretary, as follows: "I should be armed with some further statutory powers to enable me to restrain persons who seek an asylum in Canada from the commission of acts calculated to compromise the neutrality of Her Majesty's Dominions." This is a direct admission of a remissness of duty and a want of due diligence in preventing the raid on St. Albans. Indeed, some of the government officials in Canada must have known of this raid before its occurrence. F. Gerekin, impressed as a witness by Great Britain, who resided at St. Lawrence Hall in Montreal, said on cross-examination: "There were a great number of Southerners stopping at the St. Lawrence Hall, between 1862 and 1865. They conversed freely in my presence. I heard them talking

about poisoning the aqueduct of New York City, 'of setting fire to their cities when they least expected it,' that they would 'rescue the prisoners from Johnson's Island, and bring them to Canada.' Heard them say that something ought to be attempted at Ogdensburg, N. Y."

Judge Coursol said to Judge Aldis and Albert Sowles, on the morning after the raid: "That these Southerners had been about the city of Montreal in large numbers for a long time, contemplating or getting up these raids, and that, if proper measures had been taken, their plans could have been found out and frustrated."

Mr. Lamothe says: "After the Johnson's Island affair, and before the St. Albans raid, the Southern refugees appeared to be acting together in concert, and to be fully organized in Canada, and their organization, their purpose and intention of committing acts of forcible depredations, rapine and war upon the territory of the United States, must have been known to the Cartier–McDonald government; * * * * that if there had been any steps taken by said government of Cartier–McDonald to prevent the same, the said raid on St. Albans might and would have been prevented, and would not have occurred."

Col. Wm. A. Armatinger, next in command of the militia in the district of Montreal, under Coursol, thus declared to one Jacob Rynders, a Canadian detective, before the St. Albans raid, as testified to by him: "We know all about the contemplated raids; let them go on and have a fight on the frontier; it is none of our business; we can lose nothing by it. It does not interfere with us. There are so many Confederate soldiers here in Montreal, we expect a fight every day, and we shall not interfere with it."

Rynders further testified, "I have no doubt Col. Armatinger knew the exact point at which Southern soldiers designed to make their attack at the time, which afterwards proved to be St. Albans, Vermont. He appeared to know all about it. He was frequently in communication with the Southern soldiers, and they were on intimate terms."

It was fully established, that in November, 1863, Mr. La-

Mothe, Chief of Police, detected the raid on Johnsor's Island, in the Lachine Canal, and by direction of Hon. L. H. Holton, then Finance Minister, put a stop to it. There was a change of Government in March following, and LaMothe was refused compensation for his services. He, therefore, declined to perform subsequent services in that direction, and there were no detectives used or employed for that purpose before the St. Albans raid.

Lord Monck, Governor General, Sir John A. McDonald, Prime Minister, Sir George E. Cartier, Attorney General, Hon. H. D. Longevean, Solicitor General, and others, were impressed as witnesses by Great Britain, who all testified that they had no personal knowledge of the St. Albans raid before its occurence, although they were fully informed of the general objects and purposes of these insurgents in Canada.

These facts, with many other minor details, were submitted to the Mixed Commission on American and British claims, composed of Count L. Coati, Italian Minister at Washington, as Umpire, James S. Frazer, of Indiana, Commissioner for the United States, and Russell Gurney, Recorder of London, England, Commissioner for Great Britain, through Hon. Robert S. Hale, Agent for the United States, who, on the 19th of August, 1873, disallowed compensation.

Commissioner Frazer read an opinion, in which I am advised that the majority of the Commission concurred, which was in part as follows: "I may not be prepared to say that Great Britain used that diligence to prevent hostile expeditions from Canada against the United States, which should be exercised by a neutral and friendly neighbor, but in the view which I take of these claims, this question is not important, and need not therefore be decided. * * * I think, rather, it was because no care which one nation may reasonably require of another in such cases would have been sufficient to discover it." Indeed, the decision must have been placed upon the ground that direct knowledge of this particular raid must have been coummunicated to the Canadian or British Government, before its occurence, and they have failed to stop it, in order to charge such Government

with liability, and that otherwise neutrals can permit belligerents from their territories, as a base of operations, to let loose their "war dogs" on a peaceful, quiet, frontier village, pillaging their banking houses, firing their houses, and murdering their citizens, far removed from the scenes of rebellion, which their government was taxing all its energies and resources, to suppress, and when such neutrals are called upon to enact "more stringent laws," to protect the other belligerent, or make reparation for their negligence, it is not surprising that they should "hesitate, discuss, delay and refrain."

In conclusion, I beg to say that the facts and circumstances connected with this raid became generally known throughout the civilized world; that Secretary Stanton afterwards, in conversation with the writer, declared it to be one of the important events of the war, not so much as transfering in part the scenes and horrors of war, to a peaceful, loyal State, but as leading to serious and dangerous complications with Great Britain, through the desires and efforts of the Southern people to involve Canada, and through her, Britain, in a war on behalf of their Southern friends.

And I doubt not that every intelligent Ver[illegible]er must fully realize that history must and will give these events that prominence and importance they deserve.

They will remember, that in history, the conspiracies to assassinate Egdon, the King of Moab, resulting in his destruction; and that of Morat, the French Revolutionary Leader, sharing the same fate; and the gun-powder conspiracy, under the leadership of Guy Fawkes, to blow up and destroy, the English Parliament, seasonably discovered and frustrated, though of no greater scope and importance in their results, have each been given a record in history, which will perpetuate them throughout all its annals. It may not be presumptuous, then, to conjecture that this conspiracy, though its details are not fully known, will yet be ranked in importance, as one of the greatest conspiracies ever known, to subvert and destroy a government, save only that successful conspiracy to destroy Cæsar, the Emperor of Rome, of which Brutus was the leader, and that greater and unsuccessful one, of Jefferson Davis and his coadjutors in the great rebellion of 1861. Cæsar's bloody garment threw Rome again into slavery, but all the machinations of slavery-conspirators, of which this raid was a prominent one, could not undermine or destroy the foundations of this great Republic.